AN ANALYSIS OF INTRODUCTORY PARTS OF SOME PUBLISHED ARTICLES

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes introductory sections of selected academic articles published in some reputable journals within the framework of 'create-a-research-space' (or CARS) model. The purpose is to examine how and whether such sections of the papers follow the pattern outlines in the CARS model. This model represents the current thinking on writing a good introduction in an academic paper. The 'data' were collected through random selection of some articles published in three selected journals. Content analysis procedure was employed in the analysis of the data. Findings reveal that the introductions studied remarkably display and manifest all the three moves proposed by the model.

KEYWORDS: *CARS Model, Introductory Section of an Academic Paper, Establishing a Research Territory*

INTRODUCTION

In writing an academic paper (hereafter, AP), introduction is very important because it enables the author(s) to establish overall area of concern, arouses interest and communicates information essential to the reader's comprehension of what follows (Elbow, 1981). When carefully and artistically crafted, introductions not only help in gaining and sustaining reader's attention, but also help to establish the reputation of the author in the field of the discourse. Thus, the importance attached to the writing of introductions in research papers motivated some scholars to explore various methods through which research findings could be effectively introduced so as to maximize the benefits accruing from good and effective introductions.

This paper therefore examines the introductory sections of some published academic papers using the 'create-a-research-space' (or CARS) model (Swales and Feak 2004:243). This model which provides a pattern which an introduction section of an AP should typically follow represents the current thinking on howa 'good' introduction should look like, the features it should exhibit and the strategies it should employ to achieve its full potentials (Behrens *et al* 2005, Langan 2008).The model outlinesthree essential moves which should characterize the introductory section of an academic paper (Swales & Feak 2004).

Moves in Academic Paper Introductions

Move 1 Establishing a Research Territory

 a. By showing that the general research area is important, central,interesting or relevant in some way

 b. By introducing and reviewing items of previous research in the area (obligatory)

Move 2 Establishing a Niche

 a. By indicating a gap in the previous research, or by extending previous knowledge in some way (obligatory)

Move 3 Occupying the Niche

    a. By outlining purposes or stating the nature of the present research (obligatory)

    b. By listing research questions or hypotheses

    c. By announcing principal findings

    d. By stating the present value of the research

    e. By indicating the nature of the RP

<div align="center">(Swales and Feak 2004:244).</div>

Swales & Feak (2004) further explain that in **moves one** and **three**, there are elements which are not negotiable in the introduction which include introducing and reviewing items of previous research in the area as well as stating the purpose and nature of the present research. Other elements are however desirable but optional in line with the subject area or nature of the research task. On the other hand however, **move two** is obligatory as it provides the motivation for the research by indicating that the 'research story so far is not yet complete' (2004:257) thereby presenting a gap that needs to be filled.

Data and Data Collection Procedure

The data were collected through selection of some articles published in three selected journals. Note that the only criterion used in the selection of the articles is their availability to the researcher at the time of the study. *Content analysis* (Behrens *et al*, 2005) procedure is employed in the analysis. This procedure was chosen because it appears suitable for the present study as it allows the researcher to take each paper separately and examine how and whether its introductory section follows the pattern outlines in the CARS model.

Data Analysis

The Introduction in "Irony in Conversation" by Rebecca Clift (See Appendix I for the Text)

In a single paragraph introduction, the author of the above-mentioned paper follows some important aspects of the CARS model. The first sentence which reads: "Recent years have seen a variety of characterizations of linguistic irony" establishes a research territory for the RP. This opening sentence also seems to signal Move 1(a) because it shows that the general research area is important since it has attracted some attentions in recent years. From sentences 2 to 3, we sense Move 1(b) when the author attempts to introduce items of previous research in the area. Having introduced items of previous research, she moves to Move 2 which begins from sentence four to five. Here the author establishes a niche by showing how previous researches have not adequately address the issue. In the last two sentences of the opening paragraphs, she indicates Move 3 by outlining purposes of the RP as well as how she intends to develop the RP (i.e., Moves 3a & e).

The Introduction in "Age at Immigration and Second Language Proficiency among Foreign-Born Adults" by Gillian Stevens (See Appendix II for the Text)

The author of this article uses the first sentence to claim centrality as well as review items of previous research. Move 1(a) begins with the first sentence of paragraph one where he shows that the research area is important.

From second to the last sentence of the same paragraph, Move 1(b) was demonstrated by giving a general introduction of previous research in the area. In the next paragraph (i.e., paragraph 2), the author typifies Move 2 by establishing a niche through indicating the gap in the previous research. Finally, Move 3 (a., c. & e.) characterizes paragraph 3 where the writer outlines the purpose of the RP (paragraph 3, sentence 1), indicates the structure of the RP (paragraph 3, sentence 2-3) as well as announces principal findings of the RP (paragraph 3, sentence 4-5).

The Introduction in "The Grammaticalization of Participant Roles in the Constitution of Expert Identity" by Gregory M. Matoesian (See Appendix III for the Text)

In the Introduction of this article, the first sentence of opening paragraph begins Move 1; this sentence shows that the general research area is problematic (Move 1a.), similarly, from sentences 2 of the same paragraph to the last sentence of the next paragraph (i.e., paragraph 2) the author goes to the next move, that is Move 2 where he introduces and reviews some items of previous research in the area. In the third paragraph, he uses Move 3(a) to signify the purpose and nature of the RP and; in the final paragraph of the introduction section, the extension of move 3(a) as well as the structure of the RP, (i.e., move 3e.) were shown.

The Introduction in "Imaging a President: Rawlings in the Ghanaian" Chronicle by Kweku Osam (See Appendix IV for the Text)

The author's use of **Move one** is fascinating as he uses the first and second sentences of the opening paragraph to claim centrality: 'Since it has been observed the World over that discourse in the media could provide the basis of this type of work,' the author feels justified partaking especially as abundant studies, albeit using the traditional approach, exist to show such attempts. It is significant to realise that he also introduces **Move two** by the above observation and by further indicating his intention to use the *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) to carry out his own examination, in a way extending previous knowledge. It is also interesting to note that from the second to the fourth paragraphs, he deploys the use of relevant literature to show case the significance of the study especially when viewed against the important role of the media in the political struggle of the time under review. In the final paragraph, he uses **Move three** to lucidly indicate what he aims to achieve by undertaking this academic exercise.

The Introduction in "Standard Englishes: What do American undergraduates think?", By Angela Karstadt (See Appendix V for the Text)

Here, the author uses the first sentence to claim centrality as well as review items of previous research. From sentences five to eleven, we sense the use of the **Second move** where she tries to extend previous knowledge. Towards the end of the opening paragraph, we could see traces of **Move three** (a & b). The whole of the second and last paragraph is devoted to various elements of the third move; occupying the niche.

The Introduction in "Code-switching and lexical borrowing: Which is what in Ghanaian English?", by Kari Dako (see Appendix VI for the text).

In this article, the first ten lines of the opening paragraph depict the author's attempt to establish a research territory by presenting the central focus of the research so that the reader could appreciate the importance and relevance of the area under review. Of particular interest is the introduction of a gap in sentences six to eight where the author refers to the research topic as 'a variety whose features have been more or less fully recognised and described'. This apparently

provides the basis for the work; to fill in the gap not taken care of by previous efforts. The writer further extends the use of **Move two** from sentence eleven to the end of the first paragraph by attempting to show her intention to extend the previous knowledge by using the ten years collections of Ghanaianisms as a research tool. In the final paragraph, she uses Move three to signify the purpose, the research question as well as her findings.

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, we can deduce that the six introductions analyzed in this essay remarkably display and manifest all the three moves proposed by Swale and Feak's (2004) CARS model. Evidently, the obligatory ones among the three, that is, Move 1b and Move 2 are all represented as the writers both establish the rationale for the study by reviewing or attempting to extend previous knowledge. In addition, we can see vividly how the authors were able to create a gap in the previous research thus, providing them with reasons to attempt to bridge that gap. However, other sub aspects of the three moves feature in some while in others they are absent. Perhaps that could be attributed to the nature of the RP and probably the research procedure. Another interesting observation is the way and manner the authors use the three moves, (i.e., the order of presentation). The introductions do not manifest any fix chronological order of presentation as they are used interchangeably.

Irony in conversation

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ABSTRACT

This article proposes the adoption of Goffman's concept of "framing" to characterize irony across its forms; the suggestion that this framing is achieved by a shift of footing reveals links between verbal irony and other forms of talk. Examination of irony in conversation shows how the shift of footing allows for detachment, enabling the ironist to make evaluations in response to perceived transgressions with reference to common assumptions. It is both the construction of an ironic turn and its placement in a sequence that make for the discernible shift of footing, and thus the visibility of the frame; with irony, conversational expectations of what constitutes a next turn are fulfilled on the level of form, but undermined on the level of content. This analysis shows the extent to which irony is affiliative, and reveals its hitherto unacknowledged subtlety of effect and range of attitude. (Irony, pragmatics, conversation, framing, footing)[‡]

Recent years have seen a variety of characterizations of linguistic irony. Given the range of perspectives – pragmatic, psychological, and literary – the essential focus of such studies has remained constant. The overwhelming concern has been with verbal irony, and the object of investigation has been the ironic sentence, either in isolation (cf. Wilson & Sperber 1992) or in the context of a constructed text (Bollobás 1981, Jorgensen et al., 1984, Gibbs & O'Brien 1991, Dews et al., 1995, Giora 1995).[1] I argue here that this focus has produced theoretical models which, put crudely, are at once too narrow to reveal what irony is, and too broad to illuminate what it does. I suggest that an adequate characterization of linguistic irony may be best attained by a consideration of irony across its forms (dramatic/ visual/situational as well as linguistic) and that, similarly, an exploration of its functions is most clearly revealed by investigation of its basic site: conversation.[2] The following is thus a preliminary attempt to expand the traditional domain of inquiry – first, by providing a top-down characterization, going beyond the usual focus on specifically linguistic irony; and second, by a bottom-up examination of the process by which EXPLICIT irony emerges, and of the interactional uses to which it is put.[3] I hope thereby to suggest that a model which reveals the basic

characteristics of irony in its diverse forms will also enable us to examine its most common – and fleeting – realization.

Age at immigration and second language proficiency among foreign-born adults

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ABSTRACT

Sociologists typically assume that immigrants' acquisition of English as a second language follows the opportunities and motivations to become proficient in English, while many linguists argue that second language acquisition may be governed by maturational constraints, possibly biologically based, that are tied to the age at onset of language learning. In this article, I use U.S. census data to investigate the relationship between age at onset of second language learning and levels of English language proficiency among foreign-born adults in the United States. The overarching conclusion is that proficiency in a second language among adults is strongly related to age at immigration. Part of that relationship is attributable to social and demographic considerations tied to age at entry into a new country, and part may be attributable to maturational constraints. (Age at immigration, acquisition of language, English as second language, second language proficiency)[‡]

When investigating second language (L2) acquisition among immigrants, sociologists and economists often rely on "exposure" or "human capital" frameworks, in which L2 learning is prompted by opportunities and motivations to become proficient in English. Much of this research shows that social and demographic factors, such as length of residence in the U.S. and educational attainment, strongly predict levels of proficiency in English among foreign-born adults. Linguists, by contrast, start from the premise that language acquisition is a multidimensional phenomenon to be explained through a combination of linguistic, neurolinguistic, and psycholinguistic processes. Much of their research suggests that L2 acquisition, like that of a first language (L1), is bound by maturational constraints which are tied to age at onset of language learning – typically measured through age at immigration – and which may be biologically based.

Each of these approaches has merits and failings. Linguists and psychologists empirically investigating the impact of age at immigration often use small, socially homogeneous samples of respondents, and so are unable to observe (or to control for) important social factors, such as educational attainment, which strongly

predict language proficiency. Sociologists, however, typically overlook the relationship between age at immigration and L2 proficiency. Neither approach takes into account the fact that age at immigration marks immigrants' life stages at the time of entry into the U.S., and so sets immigrants on certain life-course trajectories. Immigrants who enter the country during childhood, for example, are much more likely to attend an American school – an intensive learning environment dominated by English – than are those entering the country at older ages. Research that focuses on age at immigration, but neglects the links between age at immigration and life-course considerations, may overestimate the importance of age at immigration as a maturational marker; and research that focuses only on social and economic factors fails to leave open the possibility of maturational or other biological considerations in L2 acquisition.

This essay investigates the relationship between age at immigration and English proficiency in adulthood. I begin by describing the frameworks typically used – (a) by linguists and psychologists, and (b) by social scientists – to explain L2 proficiency among foreign-born adults. Based on census data, the analysis first describes the strong relationship between age at immigration and levels of proficiency in English among foreign-born adults in the U.S. Further analysis shows that the effects of life-course characteristics are substantial, although the direct effects of age at immigration on immigrants' levels of English proficiency in adulthood remain strong. The overarching conclusion is that L2 proficiency among adults appears to be strongly affected by age at immigration; part of that relationship is attributable to social and demographic considerations tied to age at entry into a new country, while part of it may be attributable to maturational constraints.

The grammaticalization of participant roles in the constitution of expert identity

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ABSTRACT

Despite the relevance of language use in expert testimony, researchers have rarely scrutinized the linguistic and interactional processes of constructing an expert identity. This study, rather than reifying the concept of EXPERT and leaving it as an unproblematic legal argument, examines how this institutional identity emerges in and through discursive interaction between the prosecuting attorney and a physician (who is also the defendant) in trial cross-examination. Using Goffman's notion of FOOTING, the article examines how both prosecutor and defendant mobilize direct and indirect quotes, repetitive parallelism, epistemic modality, counterfactuals, evidentiality, sequencing, and specialized tokens of the medical register to contextualize shifting into and departing from an expert identity. (Footing, experts, contextualization, verbal performance, legal discourse, grammar in sequential action.)*

The use of expert testimony is an increasingly pervasive and controversial feature of the legal system in the United States. In a prominent study by Saks & Duizend 1983, nearly one-fourth of attorneys and judges surveyed encountered expert testimony in half their criminal cases. A still more recent study by Champagne et al. 1992 found that experts testified in 63% of civil cases over a period of several months. As the O. J. Simpson case demonstrated, many circumstantial evidence cases could not even proceed without the use of such testimony. Given the increasingly complex nature of evidence in such areas as DNA analysis, trace evidence, toxicology, and rape trauma syndrome – as well as the cancer-causing properties of second-hand cigarette smoke, dioxin, Agent Orange, electromagnetic fields, and silicone breast implants, to mention only a few factors – we can expect that the use of expert testimony will increase in the future (Jasanoff 1995).

This is also one of the most controversial aspects of the contemporary legal system (Jones 1994, Harvard 1995, Wilson 1997). While lay witnesses can testify only to their personal observations or to facts known to them, expert witnesses may provide, under Federal Rule 702, opinions and explanations about the fact in issue, based on their specialized training, qualifications, skill, experience, and

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knowledge. This specialized role of the expert is troubling to many legal scholars, first, because of the systemic tension between the objective practices of science and the zealous advocacy feature of the adversarial system, which tends to re- inforce loyalty at the expense of truth (Jasanoff 1995); and second because of the control of information by the parties to the litigation, which involves manipula- tion of the information-gathering process so that attorneys present only evidence beneficial to their case (Siegel 1995, Jasanoff 1995:42–68). In practice, this means that, when presenting their cases, attorneys and witnesses incorporate a number of interpersonal, linguistic, and evidential strategies designed to persuade the fact-finder about the truthfulness of their claims; and such features contrast mark- edly with the impersonal, objective, and empirical practices of sound scientific research in the quest for truth (Roberts 1992, Foster & Huber 1997). Even so, it is precisely such communicative skills that lawyers, judges, and juries find nec- essary for the effective presentation of expert testimony (Mauet 1996). To put it prosaically, the adversarial system, in stark contrast to science, is not necessarily about truth and falsity, but about winning and losing; and that depends on which side – and which witness – can best finesse reality through the use of language.

Yet despite the relevance of language use in expert testimony, researchers in this field have rarely scrutinized the linguistic and interactional processes of con- structing an expert identity – of performing expert knowledge (for exceptions, see Goodwin 1994, Renoe 1996). Instead, they have merely assumed that expert status and knowledge are statically encoded in pre-given qualifications and judi- cial ruling.[1] This neglect assumes even greater prominence empirically, since the institutional identity of experts and the persuasive impact of their testimony on the jury only emerge from the moment-to-moment details of linguistic interaction in the trial context. That the court has qualified a witness as expert in no way guarantees the persuasive impact of his or her testimony. As a result, the way an expert identity is constructed, deconstructed, and negotiated in real-time discur- sive interaction remains an unexplicated topic of legal study.[2]

In this study, rather than reifying the identity of expert and leaving it as an unproblematic legal argument, I examine how this institutional identity emerges in and through discursive interaction between the prosecuting attorney and wit- ness in trial cross-examination.[3] Using transcripts of taped testimony in the Kennedy Smith rape trial (cf. Matoesian 1997a,b), I explore the linguistic and discursive details through which an expert medical identity dynamically ap- pears and disappears in the interactional environment of impeaching the wit- ness's technical account of how the victim could have sustained certain injuries during the rape incident. But there is a rather novel twist in the analysis. The witness who provides this technical knowledge is also the defendant who is charged with second-degree sexual battery – a physician whom neither the pros- ecution nor the defense formally tendered as an expert. This aspect of the trial provides a unique opportunity to analyze the linguistic techniques for shifting into an expert identity, and departing from it, as a strategic method for deflect-

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ing blame and accounting for inconsistencies during the course of testimony. Here we can observe how both the defendant and the prosecuting attorney align and re-align a particular witness identity in the performance of professional situated knowledge to manage the practical, moral tasks of impeaching testimony.

The analysis unfolds in several parts. Since the ways in which speakers linguistically align and re-align their legal and conversational identities derive from Goffman's notion of FOOTING (1979), I will first outline that concept and discuss its relevance for the negotiation of expert identity. The next part provides the medical context for shaping the prosecuting attorney's cross-examination of the defendant, and the defendant's response to her questions. Here I focus on the emergency room physician's diagnosis of the alleged victim's physical injuries and its strategic legal relevance for both the prosecution and defense. Next I explore the interactional features of the prosecutor's accusation, and the way that grammatical and interactional features of the defendant's response signal a distinct defendant footing. The following parts examine how the prosecutor and defendant project an expert identity to manage the interpretation of those injuries – the linguistic and interactional techniques they employ to contextualize shifting into and departing from an expert identity. In the process, we can witness in fine-grained detail how participant roles are grammaticalized in sequential action. The next section shows how the defendant and prosecutor, in a surprisingly improvisational moment, co-construct a shift to an expert identity under the auspices of a formally marked departure from that identity. I conclude my analysis with a brief discussion of the sequential organization of accusations in which shifting into and departing from an expert identity occur.

IMAGING A PRESIDENT: RAWLINGS IN *THE GHANAIAN CHRONICLE*

Kweku Osam*

Abstract

The post-independence political history of Ghana is replete with failed civilian and military governments. At the close of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, a young Air Force Officer, Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, burst onto the political scene through a coup. After a return to civilian rule in 1992, with him as Head of State, he was to finally step down in 2000. For a greater part of his rule, press freedom was curtailed. But with the advent of civilian rule backed by a Constitution that guarantees press freedom, the country experienced a phenomenal increase in privately-owned media. One of these is The Ghanaian Chronicle, the most popular private newspaper in the last years of Rawlings' time in office. This study, under the influence of Critical Discourse Analysis, examines "Letters to the Editor" published in The Ghanaian Chronicle that focused on Rawlings. Through manipulating various discourse structures, writers of these letters project an anti-Rwalings ideology as a means of resisting what they see as political dominance reflected in Rawlings rule.

1. Introduction

Critical studies of media discourse have revealed that media texts are not free from ideological biases. Throughout the world, it has been observed that various discourse types in the media, for example, editorials, opinion, and letters provide conduits for the expression of ideologies. In Ghana, many of the studies carried out on the contents of the media have tended to be done through the traditional approach of content analysis. From the viewpoint of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the media texts in Ghana offer a very fertile area for research. This is so because the media, both print and electronic, have gone through various stages of development. Throughout the post independent years, there has always been, until the advent of the 4th Republic, the state control of the media. Even though in previous times private newspapers have existed, it is nothing compared to the current situation.

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The state of the media is even more interesting when we confine our observation to the period of the rule of Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. Over the period of his time in power, the country went through a tectonic shift in the character of the media. From the period of strict state control and state-allowed-only newspapers in the 1980s, we move into the early 1990s when privately owned and operated newspapers started appearing. The advent of the 1992 Republican Constitution brought with it an explosion in the proliferation of private newspapers and radio stations. This happened because the Constitution guarantees the freedom and independence of the media Article 162 (1) and (3) of the Fourth Republic of Ghana Constitution made provision for the establishment of the private press (Article 162 (3):

> Freedom and independence of the media are hereby guaranteed.(Article 162 (1))

> There shall be no impediments to the establishment of private press or media; and in particular, there shall be no law requiring any person to obtain a licence as a prerequisite to the establishment or operation of a newspaper, journal or other media for mass communication or information. (Article 162 (3))

In the context of ideological contestation, it is very much an understatement to indicate the obviousthat the media are very critical in any political struggle. In the history of Ghana, we have seen the media used as a tool in the political struggle. For example, in the 1970s when there was not as much press freedom as there is now, the *Catholic Standard* and the *Legon Observer* provided avenues for those who fought against the military rule of that period. So the media have always been used for the struggle for political power. Much as the media are used as instruments of political domination, as do they provide avenues for victims of political dominance to express their resistance to the forces of domination.

As a result of the growth of the private media in Ghana since the coming into being of the 1992 Constitution, those who made up the political OTHER in relation to the government of Rawlings found in various newspapers and radio stations avenues to express their resistance to that government.

Standard Englishes: What do American undergraduates think?

ANGELA KARSTADT

A survey of attitudes to other people's English among students at a university in the United States

[The following project report is reproduced, with minor adaptations, from *Studies in Mid-Atlantic English*, edited by Marko Modiano, a collection of papers published by Högskolan I Gävle, Sweden: see p. 47.]

ATTITUDES toward varieties of English as used in European contexts reflect changing viewpoints among their speakers (see Westergren Axelsson; Söderlund & Modiano; and Mobärg; see also Mobärg 1998). In this paper, I focus on the multifaceted attitudes toward varieties of English held by American undergraduate students in one department of English in the United States. I focus on *perceptions* of varieties of English, particularly on viewpoints of standard and acceptable spoken varieties of English.[1] The wider aim of this project – described here in its early pilot stages – is to identify to what extent American undergraduates accept regional, national, and international varieties of English. A guiding question is whether American undergraduate students expand their view of which varieties of English are standard as the students gain more exposure to varieties that are not their own.

Last spring at Indiana University–Bloomington, I designed a questionnaire to elicit attitudes about spoken varieties of English in America. A copy of my questionnaire is included in the appendix to this paper. One goal of this pilot study is to identify the varieties of English that Indiana students view as useful for success in the context of a large university. I surveyed students enrolled in two courses to test preliminarily the extent to which undergraduate classmates attending the same university and enrolled in two courses in the Department of English would have unified viewpoints on linguistic variants that are acceptable and standard. In addition, I wanted to find out what variety (or varieties) of English the respondents would advise a Swedish foreign exchange student to acquire for use at Indiana University, for the viewpoints expressed on the questionnaires may show how willing American students may be to accept or to accommodate to varieties of English that are not their own. Such attitudes may be useful for Swedish exchange students to consider as they think about linguistic integration into future host communities in academic settings.[1]

The paper is organized as follows: First, I outline some factors relevant to shaping attitudes toward language, especially in adolescence and young adulthood. Next, I describe the methods I used to collect the data, in addition to some of the preliminary results that emerged. In the conclusion, I point to possible connections to other sociolinguistic research and suggest some areas for further research.

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Code-switching and lexical borrowing: Which is what in Ghanaian English?

KARI DAKO

Mixed local feelings about the use of local words in the English of Ghana

A *GHANAIANISM* is a vocabulary item peculiar to Ghana. It may be an English item that has undergone a local semantic shift, an item of local origin used consistently in English, or a hybrid of the two. In addition, the term *Ghanaian English* as used here refers, not to a variety whose features have been more or less fully recognised and described, but broadly to the English used by Ghanaians who have had at least some formal education and are able to use English in some registers. Drawing on a collection of Ghanaianisms compiled over the last 10 years, this paper looks first at some of the prevailing problems in attempting to define the transference phenomena widely identified as *code-switching (CS)* on the one hand and *lexical borrowing (LB)* on the other, then at how Ghanaians deal with the phenomenon of borrowing into English at the text level.

How does one determine that any local item used in spoken or written English is code-switched or a lexical borrowing? It will be argued here that Ghanaians are fully aware of the local 'foreign' element when they are writing English, but are in a dilemma as to how to deal with it on the page – no matter how integrated the item may be in daily discourse. As bilinguals, they seek to maintain the morphological integrity of both the host or matrix language on the one hand and the transferred elements or embedded language on the other.

Code-switching and lexical borrowing

The question of such switching and borrowing caught my interest several years ago, when I read a mature-entry essay for the University of Ghana. The candidate, a teacher, was dealing with the performance of pupils in writing compositions. The essay had a section on vocabulary, and one of the items criticized in it was the use in English of the word *waakye*, as the name for a common meal, when in fact the teacher wanted the phrase 'rice and beans'. I have since then often asked students of mine who are themselves teachers how they would react to a pupil using *waakye* in an essay. Invariably, the response has been that the item should be substituted with 'rice and beans'.

Yet any English-speaking person in Ghana knows that a number of local words are used consistently in English in both speech and writing, and one of these is *waakye*, which (originating as the Hausa word for 'beans') means, in both English and local languages, a dish of rice and beans with pepper paste. One could assume, however, from the above evidence, that English-speaking Ghanaians regard these vocabulary items as anomalies in English that

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